/390 cont./

125 434 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 434 462 [536] [565] But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 434 592 Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

[104] [594] 1. Each time that we speak of "family," it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

/391 cont./

125 life of the unit of consumption and, on the other hand, part
434 company with it for other activities.
●592 The clearest case is that of the boarder who takes his
[437] meals in the unit of consumption and pays the cost of these meals. Though simple, it is exceptional, as is the extreme case where all the incomes are put together. Between the two, there are many possible situations. For each unit of consumption we have therefore set apart, from among all the incomes received by its members, that which is available to the head of the family to support his restricted family and to fulfill his obligations with regard to the other members of the unit of consumption who are not part of the restricted family.

125 /392/ However limited our sample may be, we have
*511 tried all the same to make it representative of the structure of the population of Thiès, as much from the standpoint of the ethnic group of the unit of consumption as from those of occupational group, income, and number of persons. Therefore, the selection of 45 families (the figure initially anticipated) suitable for us and agreeing to submit to the investigation was diffcult (1). The 43 units of consumption which are of concern

1. In this selection of families, our task was greatly facilitated by the syndical organization , the religious authorities, and the heads of quarters.

125 here are distributed as follows.
592 From the standpoint of income:
434 13 between 5,000 and 10,000 francs per month,
*511 9 between 10,000 and 15,000 francs per month,
5 between 15,000 and 20,000 francs per month,
8 between 20,000 and 30,000 francs per month,
8 above 30,000 francs per month, with one of 81,000 francs.

/393 cont./

125 Finally, according to the number of persons making up
592 the unit of consumption:
*511

5 of less than 5 persons,
18 of 5 to 9 persons,
12 of 10 to 14 persons,
5 of 15 to 19 persons,
3 of 20 persons and more.

[434] On all of these points the distribution is nearly normal. Only the group with incomes of 15,000 to 20,000 francs is somewhat scantily represented, the average of the lower group being perhaps, on the contrary, somewhat too high.

125 But this apparent balance presents a problem; every
*511 family, or nearly every one, has its own characteristics, and there are no two that are strictly comparable. This is why, in order to facilitate an understanding of certain points concerning the consumption of food commodities, we have had recourse to a device that is a little risky; from the standards utilized for the calculation of theoretical food requirements by the Institut National d'Hygiène de Paris, we have used for men, for women, and for children, according to their age category, a coefficient:

1 for men
0.8 for the women,
0.5 for children from 2 to 6 years old,
0.7 for children from 7 to 12 years old,
0.8 for children from 13 to 20 years old.

/394/ By addition, we have obtained a theoretical composition of the unit of consumption in men alone. We can then calculate the consumption of this theoretical man. Nursing children have been included in the category of 2 to 5 years old, but we have allowed the coefficient of 0.8 for nursing women. This compensates for that.

*511 Table I[1] gives the composition of the unit of consumption
592 in men, women, and children, and in the last column its com-
594 position in "man units." The column preceding the one for the

[1] [see cat. 116, pp 11-12. - ANALYST]

/394 cont./

*511 unit of consumption (U.C.) contains a figure indicating how
●592 many persons make up the restricted family constituting the
594 nucleus of each unit of consumption.

There is absolute correspondence in only 5 cases: Nos. 6, 9, 26, 34, and 42.

[595] Family No. 6 contains, besides the head of the family, a mattress-maker, and his two wives, two daughters that he had by his first wife, one by his second wife, and one by a third, deceased wife.

The baker, head of family No. 9, has only one wife. But she previously had two children before this marriage, a girl and a boy. Both of them live with the head of the family. The daughter, previously married, then divorced, has with her a child six years old. Finally, there is a child of the two spouses.

With No. 26 we truly find a family of Western type: a man, his wife, and their only child. The head of the family is 28 years old, just like that of family No. 34, which likewise includes a man, his wife, and two children. It is true that this young clerk of the P.T.T. has married a second wife, who lives in Dakar.

[595] Finally, in family No. 42, the head of the family, who has two wives, lives alone with them and their eight children, of whom one is already grown-up.

Aside from these four families, all of the units of consumption contain one or several external elements with or without kin ties with the familial nucleus.

*511 592 This almost general "parasitism" (1) is more important in

1. The word is customary. We put it between quotation marks in order to indicate to what degree it is inadequate. It is wrong primarily because of being pejorative, since it designates a traditional phenomenon.

/394 cont./
*511 592 the units of consumption with high incomes, for example, in families 31, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41. But its financial consequences will be more oppressive in the others /395/
/Table I appears here./

*511 434 /396/ Table II[1] lists, along with the ethnic group and the occupation of the head of the unit of consumption, the incomes in increasing order and the routine expenses verified during the month of the investigation. The small incomes, up to 10,000 francs, are essentially those of the laborers, orderlies, and two very petty artisans, a mattress-maker and a baker. We also find (No. 11) an auxiliary (1) worker of the

[104 463]

1. The name "auxiliary" D. N. serves here to designate unskilled workers. It was borrowed from administrative terminology (used by the Dakar-Niger, "D. N.").

Dakar-Niger, whose low income is explained by the fact that he is just starting in his occupation.

The cultivator whose income we have estimated at 8,150 francs actually cultivates very few fields. His family lives by means of very small-scale commerce practiced separately by the head of the family, his two wives, and his two sisters, all very old.

The incomes from 10,000 to 15,000 francs per month are those of the office employees and the unskilled workers (in the case of the laborer No. 15 there are actually two incomes which are combined). Two cultivators open the series starting at 15,000 and then we find successively the workers and skilled employees, a large-scale cultivator, and, in the category of large incomes, besides a truck-gardener and a jeweler, a representative of the liberal professions, our teachers and our doctor, the managerial workers and employees. No. 1 [see cut 116 pp 13+14 - ANALYST]

/395/

Table I

*511
592
594

No.	Income	Restricted Family	U.C.	M	W	2-6	7-12	13-20	Theor. U.C.
1	5,800	7	13	3	3	3	1	3	10
2	6,100	5	10	1	1	3	2	1	5.5
3	6,500	3	4	1	2	0	0	0	2.8
4	6,700	4	7	1	3	2	1	0	5.10
5	6,745	5	7	2	2	1	1	1	5.6
6	7,000	7	7	1	2	3	1	0	4.8
7	7,000	2	5	1	2	1	1	0	3.8
8	7,410	2	5	2	3	0	0	0	4.4
9	7,500	6	6	1	2	0	2	1	4.4
10	8,150	8	12	2	6	1	1	2	9.6
11	8,950	3	6	1	2	1	2	0	4.5
12	9,000	4	8	3	2	2	1	0	6.3
13	9,800	3	5	2	2	0	0	1	4.4
14	10,000	10	10	3	3	1	2	2	8.9
15	10,000	6	7	2	2	1	2	0	5.5
16	10,675	3	4	1	1	0	2	0	3.2
17	10,800	5	9	1	3	1	2	2	6.9
18	11,000	3	4	2	2	0	0	0	3.6
19	11,950	5	9	4	2	3	0	0	7.1
20	12,000	6	10	3	3	3	1	0	7.6
21	13,000	5	5	1	2	1	1	0	3.8
22	14,000	8	12	2	5	2	3	0	9.1
23	15,000	14	18	4	4	6	0	4	13.4
24	15,000	17	21	2	5	8	4	2	14.4
25	15,630	7	15	4	5	3	0	3	11.9
26	15,800	4	4	1	1	1	0	0	2.3
27	16,200	10	12	2	3	2	3	2	9.1
28	22,000	16	18	4	4	1	2	7	14.7
29	22,000	4	11	4	3	3	1	0	8.6
30	24,000	5	7	1	3	2	1	0	5.1
31	25,000	10	18	2	3	1	1	11	14.4

/395 Table I cont./

*511
592
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No.	Income	Restricted Family	U.C.	M	W	2-6	7-12	13-20	Theor. U.C.
32	25,000	5	6	2	1	1	1	1	4.8
33	25,000	4	7	1	2	2	1	1	5.1
34	25,900	4	4	2	1	1	0	0	3.3
35	27,000	5	6	1	2	1	1	1	4.6
36	34,000	3	15	4	7	1	0	3	12.5
37	36,000	11	24	7	10	2	2	3	19.8
38	50,000	5	13	5	5	3	0	0	10.5
39	51,000	6	11	1	3	2	4	1	8.0
40	55,000	15	24	4	9	7	4	0	17.5
41	55,000	8	14	2	6	3	3	0	10.4
42	56,000	11	11	2	2	1	3	3	8.6
43	81,000	4	5	2	1	1	1	0	4.0

/396 cont./

*511
[434]

43 also has two incomes (the same as No. 25).

A comparison of the incomes and expenses, up until about the middle of the table, shows an excess of expenses, sometimes not very important, but nevertheless exceeding 1,000 francs in two cases (Nos, 4 and 20). One might view this as the result of an error of estimation, either in the incomes or in the expenses. But it must not be forgotten that only routine expenses are still being dealt with, that is to say, for the small incomes that concern us now, the outlays made for food. It is therefore necessary to add to this figure all of the other expenses which we have calculated for a period of a year (divided by 12, of course). Table III,[1] where we have shown the monthly deficit in absolute value and in percentage of income, shows us what our budgets then become: the highest deficit is 45.2%, the lowest /397/ /Table II appears here/ /398/ 6.4%(1). (This last, strangely enough, is found

1. We are not counting here the

1[See cat 116, pp 17-18 - ANALYST]

/400 cont./

*511 452 debts in full. The latter pay for the others, and, if they know it, they are not surprised. It is a deep-rooted survival of the traditional, essentially collective funds in a system based on an institution of individualistic character, being salaried. Likewise, [166] [602] [592] the salaried person who is one day obliged to pay back more debts than he can meet will be able to send his family to spend a few months among relatives whom he has kept in the natal village, and they will see nothing abnormal in it. He himself will live as a "parasite" in a more favored unit of consumption, and no one will be surprised by it (1).

[114]

1. The problems of credit, complex and not very well known, the elements of which are often imperceptible, have not been followed systematically in the course of this investigation. We hope to make them the subject of a series of investigations which will be devoted especially to them.

*511 592 Is it a sign of evolution that, out of the five units of consumption that have not admitted into their midst any element foreign to the restricted family, two are among the youngest, thus capable of being more strongly influenced by ideas of [452] emancipation? Among these two, we have likewise found a lower percentage of purchases on credit. A broader investigation would perhaps confirm this tendency.

*511 Let us return to the 43 families to ascertain that the first balanced budget appears with the first income of 15,000 francs. The next three again have a deficit, but a smaller one. Taking account of the possible margin of error, one can infer, not a deficit, but a certain difficulty in "making ends meet."

This experiment, however, is too limited for one to be able to conclude with certainty that 15,000 francs is the indispensable minimum monthly income.

All of the budgets following No. 27 clearly have a surplus. We previously noted that the "hole" of No. 34 is due to the cost

/407 cont./

*511 *262 [592] inverse combinations are encountered, but they are much less common and much less liked. But, although it is generally the head of the family who buys rice and millet, large expenses coming together at the beginning of the month, it is the housewife who chooses between fish and meat at the market; already having in stock a large quantity of millet, she primarily buys meat, which normally accompanies it. Economic calculation is not her strong point, and it is probably that, if her husband left her entirely free for the other purchases, she would choose rice before millet, which would not be in order to avoid the work of pounding.

Four other families eat more meat than fish: No. 9; No. 14, a cultivator actually used to millet, but who has exhausted his harvest; and Nos. 15 and 42, two Bambara.

But there is not necessarily any agreement between these qualitative statements and the quantities actually consumed by an individual. The monthly consumption of the 43 families was established at 2.5 kilograms for meat and 4.7 kilograms for fish. Among the ten families whose total consumption of meat exceeds that of fish, there are only three where the individual consumption of meat reaches or exceeds this average (Nos. 7, 9, 32), whereas it is among 17 families in all that it is reached, as against 20 for the average for fish. In relation to the central income (No. 22, 14,000 francs), these families are grouped as follows:

For fish: 9 above, 12 below.

For meat: 6 above, 11 below.

There are four families above who reach the average in both cases. There are eight of them below. /408/ /Table VI appears here./ /409/ /Table VII appears here./

/410/ Before leaving these four basic products, we might make some comparisons on the distribution of the families who reach, for each, the average for individual consumption:

--For millet, 22 families reach the average: 12 above the central income, 10 below.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p.37]

/191 cont./

511 362 limit of reasonable occupancy has been passed when one figures an average of more than two persons per room. Thus at the left of this line are the households which do not exceed this relation of one room for two persons, at the right those for whom occupancy becomes crowded. Now let us add all the figures at the right of the line of separation, and let us refer this total of "crowded" homes in each table to the general total. One finds that this result, which one may call the "index of occupancy," is much higher in the districts than in the quarters: 26.4% as against 45.2%. This phenomenon indicates that the families are much more /192/ /Table 25 appears here/ numerous in the districts. It is possible to verify this in two ways: first, by comparing the average number of persons per household, which gives 7.43 as against 4.86; or else by constructing from the preceding tables the histogram of the various families in percentages. One then finds that in the first case the median runs between seven and eight persons, and in the second between four and five; in other words, that 47% of the homes in the districts have at least eight persons, while in the quarters one counts only 47% of the homes with five or more persons.

162 592 511 362

511 352 The same tendency is shown in the matter of the relation of the furnishings to the number of persons. We have therefore drawn up a table identical to the preceding one and substituted the number of beds for the number of rooms, for it is the bed that constitutes the principal article of furniture. Obviously the data obtained do not have the same value, since it has not been possible /193/ /Table 26 appears here/ to distinguish the various kinds of beds: beds in one or two places, wooden or metal springs. Nevertheless, it is shown that the ratio of the number of persons to the number of beds is higher in the districts than in the quarters. The total result is the following: in the former 47, in the latter 38 beds per 100 persons. One finds only five or six instances where the bed is nothing but a simple mat thrown on the beaten earth in the huts of the quarters.

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Table 25. Number of rooms per person. 1) Quarters.

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1	15	10	11	10	8	4	1	0	0	59
2	4	13	10	15	8	12	3	3	0	68
3	0	5	7	12	4	8	5	1	0	42
4	2	4	1	5	1	7	5	1	0	26
5	0	2	2	4	4	12	9	6	0	39
6	0	1	0	0	0	4	3	3	0	11
7 +	0	1	0	0	1	2	4	3	1	12
Total	21	36	31	46	26	49	30	17	1	257

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What can be concluded from these various remarks? That in general the inadequacy of housing conditions explains why the people of Pikine attach so much importance to the land of their parcel, and why this space, as much if not more than the interior, is the center of family life and activity. The rooms of the dwelling serve mainly as a shelter for sleeping and to screen a conversation or a tête-à-tête from indiscreet eyes and ears. During the day one is better off outside than inside, and this is the reason why the veranda is so important. It is the link /194/ between outdoors and indoors; when one is sitting there, one is outside in the air and yet sheltered from the rain, the sun, and the stifling heat inside.

In the second place, it is undeniable that augmentation of the comfort of the habitat is accompanied by an enlargement

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Table 26. -- 2) Districts

	1	2	3	4	5	6-7	8-9	10 to 15	15 +	TOTAL
1										
2			2	1	2	2	1			8
3		1	3		4	4	3	5		20
4	1					1	2	4	1	9
5				1			2		1	4
6						1				1
7										
Total..... ..	1	1	5	2	6	8	8	9	2	42

/194 cont./

511 592 of the family. This is an extremely important phenomenon. In order to understand it better, a study of the group occupying the parcel is now in order.

427 511 A first distinction arises regarding the mode of occupation. Aside from the tenants and owners of their parcels, there are also those who are neither the one nor the other and who live gratuitously in a hut that does not belong to them, generally because of their kinship ties with the owner. Here is the table in percentages of these three categories arranged by ethnic groups. /Table 27 appears here./

[592]

[369] 62% of the occupants are thus owners, but we have seen that only 45% have been expelled from Dakar and have therefore from this fact become owners of the parcel that has been granted

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Table 27

Ethnic Groups	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Owner	67	58	60	53	50	63	68	62
Renter	19	23	32	30	42	27	18	23
Occupant without paying	14	19	8	17	8	10	14	15
Total	100							100

/194 cont./

511 them. As a result, a certain number of family heads, around
427 17%, are owners only because they have bought their parcel.
[369] This fact therefore shows that Pikine has become a choice locality where it is worth the trouble to spend money in order to establish oneself, and thus corroborates the hypothesis set forth above, that the evolution of Pikine today attests to an indisputable degree of urban maturity.

In the districts one counts only 9% who are tenants; all the others are owners or on the way to it. But while the rent of a room in a hut located in the quarters costs an average of 500 francs, the price is much higher in the districts, and this income permits the owner, who for his part is obliged to make a monthly payment to the Office de l'Habitat hardly higher /195/ than the amount of the rent, to acquire at the end of five years a dwelling by paying, in a word, only a ridiculous amount. It is difficult to evaluate the frequency of this abusive practice; in our sample it was three out of four tenants.

351 Another point has to do with the possibility of dividing
511 the parcel into half parcels or of two and even three homes being associated on the land of a single parcel. This possibility does not exist in the districts, where, in practice, economic obligations and the arrangement of the habitat as a rule require having only a single home per parcel. In the quarter, out of 264 homes, one counts 191 of them, namely, 72%, that are alone on the land; 46, or 17%, are in groups of two; and 27, or 11%, are in groups of three.

511 The types of association are very diverse, from the
592 households which are united by a bond of kinship and which represent 22% of the cases of association, that is to say, 6% of the total, to homes living on two half-parcels rigorously separated. The most frequent case is that of two unrelated households living together, who share, if not the same hut, at least the same inner court, each having its fire and doing its cooking separately. In general, the families thus grouped contain only a limited number of members, the scantiness of a half parcel not being favorable to the installation of numerous families. Since this factor does not

/195 cont./

511 exist in the districts, where the parcel is individual, one can
592 see in it one of the reasons why the average number of individuals per home is higher there than elsewhere.

592 The analysis of the qualitative composition of the
162 family group discloses another reason. Schematically one may distinguish four principal kinds of family, if one considers its qualitative composition: the lone adult; the adult living with one or more children, where it is a matter of his own or of young brothers; the family called "elementary," composed of the husband, his wife or wives, and their children; finally, the elementary family to which are added either the collateral relatives, or outsiders, or both.

Here (p. 60) is the table of the percentages of these different types listed by ethnic groups; the first is that of the quarters, the second that of the districts.

When one goes from the quarters to the districts, the total shows that:

1st. The number of elementary families increases.

2nd. The proportion of the "extended" families -- in the very broad sense of the term -- remains the same in the two cases.

/196/ 3rd. This increase in the rate of the conjugal family is thus due to the almost total disappearance in the districts of single persons living alone or in the company of children who are in their charge, especially divorced women. /Table 28 appears here./

592 One may ask whether this factor suffices in itself to
162 explain this increase in the number of individuals per household
595 which we have listed above. There is another difference between the districts and the quarters which may likewise contribute to this explanation: it is the rate of polygamy. We mean by that the number of household heads who are polygamists in relation to the total number of male heads of households. Out of 100 family heads 21 are polygamists in the quarters and 31 in the districts. The difference is notable.

• 592 169

/196 cont./

Table 28

Ethnic Group	W	S	T	P	M	B	O	Av.
Type 1	8.4	17.6	7	7.7	21.4	9.1	12.5	9.7
2	9.1	17.6	2.3	7.7	0	9.1	0	7.4
3	39.9	35.3	48.8	61.5	50	54.5	62.5	44.7
4	42.6	29.5	41.9	23.1	28.6	27.3	25	38.2
Total	100							100
Type 1	5.9							2.4
2	0					20		2.4
3	70.6	33.3	50	50	--	60	33.3	57.1
4	23.5	66.7	50	50		20	66.7	38.1
Total	100							100

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511 595 The raising of the standard of living, which is symbolized and realized by the acquisition of a durable dwelling provided with modern conveniences, thus seems to go hand in hand with an increase in polygamy. Another factor should also be correlated with it: the educational level. The proportion of polygamists among the literate is higher than the corresponding proportion among the illiterate: 26.5% as against 21.6%.

511 But, as the preceding figures suggest, it seems that the principal cause is to be found in the improvement of economic conditions, and education in this case plays only the role of a /197/ second cause, which is the very thing that permits access to a higher income. Another index runs along the same lines: the average number of persons under [602] the care of the head of the family, persons who do not live in the concession, but either in the city or village. This average figure is distinctly larger for the districts: 219 as against 142 persons under the care of 100 heads of families, in addition to those who live with him.

It is now possible to draw some conclusions which are to be found at the point of convergence with the preceding remarks.

511 592 602 1) It does not seem that what is designated by the deplorable name of "familial parasitism" (1) can be held

> 1. It is not a question of denying the negative and paralyzing influence which a family can exert on the best of its members and which is ordinarily designated by the name of parasitism. But neither should one ignore the positive aspect of solidarity that makes up for the detrimental consequences of migration and eases for the immigrant the transition from the traditional environment to the urban environment.

responsible for the relative increase of the number of persons

/197 cont./

511 592 602 per home in the districts. This fact may be explained by two other reasons: on the one hand, the disappearance of homes reduced to single or divorced persons, in favor of the conjugal family; on the other hand, as part of this, an increase in the number of spouses.

2) Family solidarity is no less a patent fact in the districts than in the quarters. It works in two ways: the first consists of taking complete charge of the housing and support of brothers, nephews, or other relatives. This is shown in the figure of 38% of the families who extend beyond the framework of the conjugal family properly speaking. In this respect the inhabitants of the districts behave much the same as the others. But they make a greater effort with respect to the second form of family solidarity: sending money to relatives to all or part of their living expenses.

369 3) The betterment of living conditions and the participation to a certain degree in the material comfort that the urban environment brings with it do not necessarily mean a rupture and an overthrow of traditional social behavior. On the contrary, on two points, polygamy and family solidarity, there is a reinforcement of these behaviors, and, if one may apply this terminology to Senegal, it is not "detribalization" which should be spoken of, but "supertribalization."

/198/ Conclusion

Despite its youth, Dagoudane-Pikine is a definite city no less than Dakar, although closely dependent upon the latter. It is a city by reason of its area, the size of its population, the effort undertaken with regard to equipment, especially with regard to schools, and finally by the type of work offered to an important part of the economically active population. It is also a typical African city, with its small number of durable buildings, the considerable unemployment, the large number of young people, and above all, its gross [444] deficiencies of public equipment. We have not spoken of its [443] health equipment; it is still terribly inadequate, although

/22 cont./

salient aspects of the present situation; we shall then turn to some monographic examples. Thus the orientation of our investigations will summarily appear. 369* [121]

A. -- The changes in the organization and the family values form a whole. The correlations that appear between the facts that we have retained for illustration will suffice to indicate it.

We have noted that in town, in most cases, there is topographic dispersion of the ethnic groups and the more restricted kinship groups. It must in no way be concluded that there is a general rupture of the kinship structures; all the ties are not cut. Only the facts of neighborhood and kinship do not reinforce each other any more, in accordance with the typical process of traditional situations. A first examination of the variations in numerical importance of groups of relatives living together will permit one to define the present tendencies. We shall see that the instituting of a new situation where the household /maisonnée/ (1) tends to coincide with the restricted family /famille restreinte/ has progressed unequally, depending on the social categories (2). 621 369* [592] [594]

1. Cf. below for the definition of this idea.

2. See above (I, B, 4) the brief information given on the socio-occupational categories.

We have said why, especially where marriage is concerned, the considerations of the family structure proper cannot be separated from the problems posed by ethnic affiliation. The multiplication of interethnic marriages is a symptom of important social changes. It must likewise be noted that, the less numerically important an ethnic group is in the town, the more the simple ethnic relationship tends to play the role of ties of closer relationship. [593]

The structure of the restricted family itself is subject to variations. Here in particular the question of polygamy poses 369* 595

/22 cont./ 369x [595]
itself, its variable importance depending on religions, ethnic groups, socio-occupational categories.

B. -- The numerical importance of the groups of relatives making up a single household is very variable. We have defined the household /maisonnée/: the assemblage of persons living in a single house or a single group of houses, and putting together at least a part of their resources. 369x 592● [104]

1. Some remarks are necessary here in order to place conveniently the data gathered.

/23/ Certain households are composed of groups of persons having no ties of kinship between them -- in extreme cases, not even of ethnic relationship. In particular this is the case for groups of bachelors who rent a room with common funds, a case that is quite frequent among the seasonal workers, but this is a category that has only briefly been studied up to now. The investigation by questionnaires is practically limited to the permanent population. The elements relating to the composition of the household thus concern kinship groups almost exclusively. We obtain an approximation adequate for our purpose. [589] [125]

There are some facts which we shall be able to take into account only in the statement of qualitative data. On the one hand, a certain number of households are tied by kinship or by marriage with immediately neighboring households. Even though there is no life in common for the whole of the family group, its different parts continue to have constant relations. This aspect will be brought out in the last part of our work. On the other hand, the restricted polygamous family, in a certain number of cases, is not assembled in one and the same place; each wife, with her children, forms the nucleus of a household, which other members of the kinship group eventually come to join; the head of the family passes from one household to another (1) [595]

1. This fact is less marked, however, than in a town like Saint-Louis.

/23 cont./ 369 x 592 ●

2. The figures which follow will give a first idea of the size of the groups. They apply to the male heads of ménages (monogamous and polygamous), the bachelors and groups of bachelors being excluded. We made a simple count of the persons belonging to the household outside of the ménage investigated (man, wife or wives, children living with their parents, adopted children) (2). One obtains the following results:

2. We will see further on what has to be understood concretely by "adoption" in the Dakar urban context. This only concerns the effectively grouped ménage; if certain wives and their children do not live in the household considered, they are not counted.

a) For the whole of the population studied, or 915 male heads of ménages, 41% of the households coincide with the restricted family, 32% include one person in addition to the restricted family, 14% include two, 5% include three, 2% include four, 1% include five, 1% include more than five (3). [594] [162]

3. These percentages, as well as those that follow, are calculated faultily. They can only be approximations, under the conditions of the investigation. The expression in percentage, however, strikingly illustrates the indications gathered. The tendencies that they show have been corroborated for most of the categories by many subsequent interviews. [128]

/24/ The following table divides this population into socio-occupational categories: [565]

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Socio-occupational Category	Number of Households	Number of persons not belonging to the restricted family (%)						
		0	1	2	3	4	5	+5
Farmers, fishermen	23	47%	26%	13%	4%		2%	2%
Laborers, domestics	124	35%	37%	12%	8%	4%	0.5%	0.5%
Workers and artisans	290	38%	29%	14%	6%	3%	3%	2%
Master workmen	21	23%	23%	42%		10%		
Subordinate employees and functionaries	265	42%	33%	13%	4%	3%	3%	2%
Superior employees and functionaries	39	46%	43%	7%		2%		
Teaching, intellectual professions, etc.	48	46%	35%	14%	4%			1%
Merchants, transport, etc.	122	38%	36%	13%	7%	2%	1%	1%

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b) These simplified data call for some commentary. What is the significance of the sometimes important differences that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the different strata?

The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here. [241]

/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The important factor here is the degree of Westernization (1). [177] [871]

1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of households which include one person in addition to the restricted family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures. [357]

c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational

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17: Mercier--36 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

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regularly distributed among the socio-occupational categories. We shall refer here to our paper, already cited, which was prepared for the Conference of Abidjan of September 1954.

on the one hand, the numerical importance of the group in the town; on the other hand, the distance from the region of origin; finally, particular factors closing off the group (racial prejudices, religion, etc.). Thus we find, among the groups where the average for interethnic marriages is not attained: the Cape Verdeans, the Moors, the Diola, the Sérère and equally the Wolof, among whom ethnic endogamy is the clearest. Among those where the proportion of interethnic marriages clearly exceeds the average: the Bambara, the groups originally from the territories of the south, and, unexpectedly, the Lebou, which indeed confirms the weakening of the former particularism and the mixing (which is accelerating) with the Wolof element. Let us note /31/ finally that in numerous cases, if the spouses are not of the same ethnic group, they are nevertheless originally from the same region; this is the case for most of those questioned by us who were originally from Dahomey and Togo.

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F. -- We must look briefly into the qualitative aspect of the composition of the family groups going beyond the framework of the restricted family; we have indicated what limits are put on the utilization of the purely quantitative data. This composition is very diverse and very changeable in time.

1. Here are the dominant types which were encountered, in order of decreasing frequency:

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a) The nephew-uterine uncle relationship and more rarely the nephew-consanguineous /paternal/ uncle are the basis for the formation of many groupings. In particular among the Wolof and the Lebou, the educational role of the uterine

17: Mercier--37 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar
Wolof MS30

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uncle persists, and the latter often has charge of his nephews until adolescence, whether or not the father lives in town (1).

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1. Nephews harbored in this manner represent a large proportion of the category of "adopted children." The other types of relationships covered by the term adoption in common usage are: those between the guardian and orphaned children (of brothers or of more distant relatives), and those between the guardian and children who have been entrusted to him during the time of schooling by relatives living out of town.

One often ascertains this fact in the whole of the categories where the vigor of traditional institutions is, as we have seen, the greatest (farmers, laborers, workers, merchants), but it is noticeable everywhere.

b) Another frequent type is that of groupings of collaterals of the same generation, consanquineous /paternal/ or uterine (brothers in the classificatory sense). It frequently breaks up when the younger brothers marry; it is more unstable if "brothers" of a distant degree are involved.

c) One encounters, in a smaller number of cases, the typical extended family, where the married sons -- and sometimes, temporarily or permanently, married daughters (2)--

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2. The case where the husband is housed by his wife or by the family of the latter, the owner of the house, is encountered frequently, but less than, for example, at Saint-Louis. It is

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a matter of a de facto matrilocal, non-institutionalized marriage.

369x 592● [591] [596]

do not form separate households. The segmentation of these groups occurs constantly -- it poses a question of available space -- but its importance is sometimes tempered by the maintenance of the neighborhood situation. The aged father and mother are often dependent, and the role of the de facto head of the family has partially been transferred to the eldest son.

/32/ d) Kinship by marriage is likewise a factor of grouping. One finds most frequently the collaterals of the wife, more rarely her relatives on ascending generations. One is reminded in part of the preceding case (1).

1. See preceding note.

e) One finds finally, living with the restricted family, distant relatives or "friends" who, in the majority of cases, are at least tied to this family by an ethnic relationship. But these much looser relationships account chiefly for the formation of bachelor groups. [589]

2. Two typical cases of variations in time will be given by way of illustration. The first example is that of a specialized worker's family, the second that of a family of a subordinate employee. The wages of the family heads in the chosen cases are much the same.

a) This family is of Toucouleur origin, but, after a series of marriages, is closely tied to Wolof groups. The nucleus of the restricted family consists of the husband, his wife, and her three children. The mother of the family head, a widow, lives with her son permanently. The following changes in the composition of the household were observed from August 1953 to May 1954:

-- August: a guest was lodged for three weeks, in the capacity of both a distant relative and a marabout;

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-- September: the brother of the family head, an itinerant merchant, settled in Dakar for six weeks; he was not entirely dependent on his brother;

-- October: the son of a uterine cousin of the family head was entrusted to him for the school year: he is not entirely dependent on his relative;

-- December: two cousins who work seasonally in Dakar came from the region of the river; the first found work and was laid off in March, but he stayed until May; the second only did occasional work and left in April; they were both dependent on their relative for at least a third of their stay.

One thus sees how the exercise of diverse obligations stemming from kinship ties caused the size of the family to vary in the course of the year. The number of adults living entirely or partially on one salary went from a minimum of three to a maximum of five.

/33/ b) The second family is Lebou. It consists permanently of the husband, one of his two wives, her two children (the second wife, with her two children, lives in another sector of the same quarter), a uterine nephew, and a sister of the wife. The following changes were noted during this period (not including the many, very short visits of relatives living in the area of Rufisque): [595]

-- September: the younger brother of the family head returns, his military service completed; he will not find work until March and moreover will continue to live with his brother; until then, there will be only one salary.

-- December: the second wife leaves for a stay with her relatives and leaves her eldest son, a schoolboy, in the care of her co-wife; this does not in fact represent an increase in burden; [595]

-- February: after the death of their father, the young brother of the wife joins her.

One has had then, during this period, at first three and

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and then four adults living on one salary, and subsequently four adults living on two salaries.

G. -- One sees by these examples how a "snapshot" of the situation only furnishes an approximate picture of the totality of the facts. The preceding pages have shown, however, that it does draw an outline of it; it is therefore possible to put down some remarks in the guise of conclusions.

1. The situation is not fixed. The restricted family clearly tends to constitute a milieu of life more closed than [594]
in the traditional framework, and to coincide with the household. But this tendency, even in the most Westernized categories, is far from having caused the traditional forms to re- [182]
treat everywhere. The obligations founded on kinship in the [602]
broad sense are still strongly felt. But one has seen that a first step toward their gradual weakening has already been made with the transformation of the character of the de facto groupings (extent, structure, etc.). Doubtlessly for a long time yet there will continue to be a gap between the values recognized by the members of these societies and the new structures born out of the transformations imposed from the outside. As for the structure of the restricted family, the proportion of polygamists, for all the cases studied, seems to be [595]
at the average level which it attains in a demographically normal population. A regression of polygamy, however, appears to have started in the categories which represent a new type of elite with Western instruction.

2. The variations in the extent and the structure of both the broad group of relatives and the restricted family are not linked in a constant manner to the differences in living standard. [182]
The situations /34/ can be extremely variable with equal resources (1). The relation is well marked (2) only in the

1. As the investigations on family budgets conducted in Thiès have indeed shown.